

Message Text

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ORIGIN NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 IO-14 ISO-00 PA-02 H-02
SSM-05 SIG-02 SS-15 SP-02 PM-05 INR-10 NSAE-00
L-03 SSO-00 INRE-00 ACDA-12 MCT-01 HA-05 /111 R

DRAFTED BY NEA/P:WBHARRIS:DP
APPROVED BY NEA/P:GFSHERMAN
S/PRS - MR. CARTER
H - MR. FLATEN
SSM - MR. MC ANDREW
NEA - MR. NEUMANN
NEA/IAI - MR. SMITH
NEA/ARN - MR. DRAPER
NEA/EGY - MR. NEWBERRY
NEA/ARP - MR. TWINAM

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TO AMEMBASSY AMMAN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY JIDDA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MANAMA
AMEMBASSY RABAT
AMEMBASSY SANA
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI
AMEMBASSY TUNIS
USMISSION SINAI
AMCONSUL DHAHRAN
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM
AMEMBASSY LONDON
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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY NOUAKCHOTT
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS
USINT BAGHDAD
AMEMBASSY DOHA

AMEMBASSY KUWAIT
USCINCEUR
DOD
JCS
CIA
USIA
NSC

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CINCEUR FOR POLAD; TEL AVIV FOR PAO, DELIVER BY 9 A.M.

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT:DEPARTMENT PRESS BRIEFING - FEBRUARY 16, 1978

1. FOR YOUR INFORMATION AND GUIDANCE FOLLOWING ARE EXCERPTS
FROM DEPARTMENT PRESS BRIEFING FOR FEBRUARY 16. FYI ONLY,
OFFICER PRESENT TODAY WAS KEN BROWN.

Q. THE STATE DEPARTMENT HAS SENT UP TO THE HILL A LETTER,
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A POINT-BY-POINT LETTER, DEFENDING THE SALE OF THE F-15'S
TO THE SAUDIS. ARE YOU GOING TO MAKE SIMILAR SPECIFIC
DEFENSES OF THE OTHER PARTS OF THE SALE AS WELL? IF SO,
WILL YOU MAKE THOSE AVAILABLE TO US?

A. I DON'T HAVE ANYTHING SPECIFIC ON THAT. I WOULD THINK
THAT IF THE HILL WAS INTERESTED IN OUR PARTICULAR VIEWS ON
THE PARTICULAR SALES, WE WOULD BE WILLING TO REPLY. THIS
IS SOMETHING THAT CONGRESSIONAL RELATIONS WOULD HAVE TO
REPLY TO, AND I DON'T HAVE ANYTHING SPECIFIC ON IT FOR YOU.

Q. CAN YOU FIND OUT? I AM TOLD THAT THERE IS AN OPPOSI-
TION LETTER CIRCULATING ON THE HILL, AND SUCH AN OPPOSITION
LETTER TRIGGERED THE SAUDI DEFENSE. WOULD YOU FIND OUT
IF YOU ARE GOING TO WRITE SUCH A LETTER ABOUT THE EGYPTIAN
F-5 DEAL?

A. I WILL LOOK INTO THAT.

Q. I SAW THE MEMORANDUM YOU SENT TO THE HILL AND IT
SEEMS TO BE A RESPONSE TO THE AMERICAN-ISRAEL POLITICAL
ACTION COMMITTEE, POINT-BY-POINT. THAT SAME COMMITTEE
OBJECTED TO THE F-5'S FOR EGYPT. SO I WONDER IF YOU WOULD
SORT OF ADDRESS THAT QUESTION WITH THAT IN MIND, THAT YOU
WEREN'T RESPONDING TO A HILL REQUEST, BUT YOU WERE TRYING
TO RESPOND TO A PRO-ISRAELI LOBBY IN A POINT-BY-POINT
DEFENSE. AGAIN, ARE YOU GOING TO RESPOND TO THEIR OB-

JECTIONS TO THE F-5 SALE, OR/AND DOES THIS, WHAT YOU DID TODAY, SUGGEST THAT YOU FEEL YOU HAVE MORE PROBLEMS OF GETTING APPROVAL FOR THE F-15'S THAN YOU HAVE FOR THE F-5'S?

A. I CAN'T SPECULATE ABOUT THE LATTER PART OF THE QUESTION, BUT WHAT I WILL DO IS LUMP YOUR QUESTION TOGETHER AND TRY TO FIND OUT IF WE HAVE ANY PLANS FOR CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE HILL REGARDING THE F-5'S?
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Q. I WAS WONDERING IF YOU COULD EXPLAIN HOW THE STATE DEPARTMENT PLANS TO ANSWER QUESTIONS ON THIS SUBJECT, IN VIEW OF THE WHITE HOUSE'S OWN BOOK, "PROMISES, PROMISES," WHICH REVEALS THAT IN MARCH OF 1976, GOVERNOR CARTER "OPPOSED THE SALES OF ARMS TO EGYPT THAT COULD BE USED IN A STRIKE AGAINST ISRAEL." IN JUNE HE SAID THAT WE, THE UNITED STATES, SHOULD REDUCE THE COMMERCE IN WEAPONS OF WAR. AND ON APRIL 1ST, HE TOLD THE NEW YORK SYNAGOGURE COUNCIL "I DO NOT BELIEVE ARMS SALES BUY LASTING FRIENDS. I AM CONCERNED WITH THE WAY IN WHICH OUR COUNTRY AS WELL AS THE SOVIET UNION, BRITIAN AND FRANCE HAVE POURED ARMS INTO CERTAIN ARAB COUNTRIES FAR BEYOND THEIR LEGITIMATE NEEDS FOR DEFENSE -- FIVE OR SIX TIMES MORE THAN ISRAEL RECEIVES. THIS HEADLONG RUSH FOR WEAPONS INCREASES THE CHANCE FOR WAR." THERE IS MORE, BUT THAT IS THE SUME AND SUBSTANCE OF IT. NOW, MY BASIC QUESTION IS, DOES THE STATE DEPARTMENT REGARD THESE STATEMENTS BY PRESIDENT -- BY GOVERNOR CARTER AS NOW BEING INOPERATIVE?

A. I RESPONDED TO A SIMILAR QUESTION YESTERDAY THAT ON SPECIFIC STATEMENTS HAVING TO DO WITH GOVERNOR CARTER'S CAMPAIGN, THOSE QUESTIONS WOULD BE PROPERLY ADDRESSED TO THE WHITE HOUSE.

REGARDING ARMS SALES AND OUR POLICY ON ARMS SALES, I THINK WE HAVE MADE CLEAR THAT THE ADMINISTRATION IS PURSUING ITS POLICY OF REDUCING ARMS SALES OVER-ALL. AND WE HAVE HAD, I THINK, A RATHER COMPREHENSIVE BRIEFING ON THAT

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REGARDING SPECIFIC ARMS SALES TO THE MIDDLE EAST, IT MUST
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BE NOTED THAT THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST HAS CHANGED RATHER DRAMATICALLY JUST IN THE LAST FEW MONTHS. BUT BEYOND THAT I DON'T HAVE A SPECIFIC REPLY.

Q. HOW HAS IT CHANGED SO THAT THE SAUDI ARABIANS NEED

F-15'S? YOU SAID IT CHANGED. I JUST WONDERED HOW IT CHANGED.

A. I WAS TALKING ABOUT THE FACT THAT PEACE NEGOTIATIONS DID GET STARTED, ARE UNDERWAY. WE HAD THE SADAT VISIT. I THINK THERE HAS BEEN A DRAMATIC CHANGE.

Q. IN THAT APRIL 1, 1976 STATEMENT, CANDIDATE CARTER SAID THAT THE ARABS HAD FIVE OR SIX TIMES THE PLANES ISRAEL DOES. I NOTICE THE ISRAELIS YESTERDAY WERE SAYING TWO AND A HALF TO THREE TIMES. MAYBE THE QUESTION SHOULD GO TO THE PENTAGON, BUT SINCE SECURITY WAS ONE OF YOUR CONSIDERATIONS AT STATE, DO YOU THINK YOU COULD GET US A ROUGH ESTIMATE OF THAT AIR POWER, WHETHER IT IS TWO-AND-A-HALF OR THREE TO ONE, OR FIVE TO ONE, OR SIX TO ONE?

A. I THINK I WOULD ADDRESS YOU TO THE PENTAGON ON THAT ONE, A SPECIFIC MILITARY QUESTION LIKE THAT.

Q. I JUST FIGURED IT MIGHT BE HERE BECAUSE SECURITY, THE ARMS BALANCE, IS ONE OF THE THINGS PROMINENT IN YOUR DECISION.

A. I ASSUME THAT OUR ANALYSTS ARE AWARE OF THE SPECIFIC QUESTIONS THAT YOU ARE RAISING.

Q. THE OTHER DAY IT WAS LEFT OPEN WHETHER THERE WILL BE FURTHER ARMS SALES; ALTHOUGH THIS IS IT FOR THE AIRPLANES FOR THIS YEAR, IT WAS LEFT OPEN THAT THERE MIGHT BE FURTHER ARMS SALES. CAN YOU TELL US ARE THERE ANY OTHER OUTSTANDING REQUESTS, FORMAL OR INFORMAL, FROM EITHER THE UNCLASSIFIED

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SAUDIS OR THE EGYPTIANS?

A. I HAVE NO INFORMATION ON THAT.

Q. CAN YOU GET THAT?

A. I WILL LOOK INTO THE QUESTION OF OUTSTANDING REQUESTS.

Q. THE AIPAC MEMO TALKS ABOUT THIS NOT BEING CONSISTENT

WITH PRM 12. I RECALL THAT THERE IS A PASSAGE IN PRM 12 THAT BARS THE INTRODUCTION BY THE UNITED STATES OF THE FIRST HIGHLY SOPHISTICATED TECHNOLOGY TO A REGION.

SINCE WE ARE NOT CLEAR ON WHAT THE REGION IS, HOW DO YOU RECONCILE THE F-15'S INTRODUCTION INTO A REGION? PRESUMABLY IT IS MORE ADVANCED THAN ANYTHING IRAQ HAS OR THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN.

A. I BELIEVE THE F-15'S ARE ALREADY THERE. ISRAEL HAS F-15'S ALREADY.

Q. ARE WE SAYING THAT SAUDI ARABIA IS IN THE ISRAEL REGION AND THAT THE ISRAELI ACQUISITION OF F-15'S JUSTIFIES DELIVERY INTO SAUDI ARABIA?

A. SPEAKING IN REGIONAL TERMS, AND SPEAKING IN TERMS OF THE MIDDLE EAST AS A REGION.

Q. DID YOU POINT OUT THAT IRAN HAS F-14'S?

A. THANK YOU.

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Q. BUT THE MEMO SAYS YOU'RE NOT WORRIED ABOUT IRAN ANY MORE.

Q. IT SAYS YOU'RE NOT WORRIED ABOUT ISRAEL EITHER; YOU'RE WORRIED ABOUT IRAQ AND PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN.

A. YOU MEAN AS FAR AS THIS SPECIFIC SALE.

Q. YES. THIS SALE IS TO DEFEND SAUDI ARABIA FROM IRAQ AND PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN.

A. YES. WELL, I'M CONFIDENT THAT THE POSITION IS THAT WE DO NOT CONSIDER THIS HAS VIOLATED THIS POINT, IN THAT PRM.

Q. CAN YOU MAKE THAT MEMO PUBLIC TO ALL OF US? ARE THERE COPIES AROUND?

A. CONGRESSMAN HAMILTON I THINK CAN MAKE THIS AVAILABLE, AND WE CAN ARRANGE TO GET YOU A COPY.

Q. CAN I ASK ONE QUESTION ON THAT? COULD YOU FIND OUT FOR US WHAT REGION SAUDI ARABIA IS IN AND JUST LET US KNOW? ARE THEY IN THE PERSIAN GULF REGION, SO FAR AS AN

ARMS BALANCE, ARE THEY IN THE MIDDLE EAST, ARE THEY SORT OF IN BOTH?

A. I'M SPEAKING OF SAUDI ARABIA AS BEING IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

Q. I KNOW, BUT I THINK YOU ARE PROBABLY MORE SPECIFIC WHEN YOU CALCULATE MILITARY -- PRESUMABLY, A LOT OF VERY HARD THINKING WENT INTO CALCULATING AN ARMS BALANCE THAT YOU SAY HASN'T BEEN TIPPED, A REGIONAL ARMS BALANCE. MY

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QUESTION IS, WHAT REGION IS SAUDI ARABIA IN WHEN YOU THINK OF F-15'S TO SAUDI ARABIA?

Q. WOULD YOU TAKE THAT QUESTION? WHAT I'M TRYING TO GET AT IS HAVE WE DONE ANYTHING OR ARE WE ABOUT TO DO SOMETHING IN THE SALE TO SAUDI ARABIA THAT TEMPTS IRAQ TO GO TO THE SOVIET UNION AND SAY, "WE NEED MORE ADVANCED PLANES THAT IS, ARE YOU FUELING AN ARMS RACE IN THAT CONFRONTATION? HAS THAT BEEN TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT?

A. OUR POSITION IS THAT WE ARE NOT UPSETTING THE BALANCE. AS TO WHAT IRAQ MAY DO, I CAN'T REPLY.

Q. WHAT BALANCE AREN'T YOU UPSETTING?

A. WE'RE TALKING ABOUT THE OVERALL ARMS BALANCE IN THE MIDDLE EAST WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

Q. OK BECAUSE YOUR TWO SENIOR OFFICIALS WHO WERE THERE A COUPLE OF DAYS AGO WERE TALKING ABOUT IRAQ, THE BALANCE WITH IRAQ, T.

A. I DON'T KNOW THAT THEY WERE TALKING ABOUT THE BALANCE WITH IRAQ. THEY WERE TALKING ABOUT THE DEFENSE NEEDS OF SAUDI ARABIA, AND INDEED THAT THESE WERE BEING SOLD TO SAUDI ARABIA AS A DEFENSIVE WEAPON.

Q. DON'T YOU SEE THE CONTRADICTION HERE? WHEN YOU LOOK AT IT IN TERMS OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT, IRAQ AND SAUDI ARABIA ARE ON THE SAME SIDE; WHEN YOU LOOK AT IT IN TERMS OF THE IRAQI-SAUDI DISPUTE, THEY ARE NOT ON THE SAME SIDE, SO WHICH WAY DO YOU COUNT IT?
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A. THE RESPONSE HAVING TO DO WITH THE DEFENSE OF SAUDI ARABIA WAS IN THE CONTEXT OF WHAT THREAT SAUDI ARABIA MIGHT FEEL OR WHAT EVENTUALITIES SAUDI ARABIA MIGHT HAVE TO DEFEND ITSELF AGAINST.

Q. IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT SAUDI ARABIA SENT TROOPS DURING THE YOM KIPPUR WAR, IS IT COUNTED AMONG THE CONFRONTATION STATES OR NOT?

A. IT IS NOT CONSIDERED TO BE ONE OF THE CONFRONTATION STATES.

Q. WHAT ABOUT THE PAST? WHAT ABOUT THE FACT THAT SAUDI ARABIA DID SEND TROOPS DURING THE OCTOBER WAR?

A. I'M NOT AWARE THEY PLAYED A MAJOR ROLE IN THAT CONFLICT.

Q. HOW DO YOU, THEN, CONSIDER THE IRAQI THREAT TO SAUDI ARABIA? EVERYTHING IS BASED ON THE IRAQI THREAT, HOW IMMINENT, HOW SERIOUS IT IS.

A. I'M NOT EVEN SAYING THE IRAQIS ARE THREATENING SAUDI ARABIA, AND I REALLY CAN'T GO BEYOND WHAT HAS ALREADY BEEN SAID IN THE BACKGROUNDER WHICH I BELIEVE YOU ATTENDED

Q. I UNDERSTAND THAT SAMMY ESMail, THAT'S THE MICHIGAN STATE GRADUATE STUDENT WHO IS NOW HELD IN ISRAEL ON CHARGES OF ESPIONAGE, TRAVELED TO LIBYA IN THE SUMMER OF 1976 FOR TERRORIST TRAINING IN SMALL ARMS AND EXPLOSIVES AND WAS INTERROGATED BY US AUTHORITIES WHEN HE RETURNED TO THE US BEFORE HE WENT TO ISRAEL. DID THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION, IN ITS OPPOSITION TO TERRORISM, WARN THE ISRAELIS THAT A TERRORIST WAS ON THE WAY SO THAT HE WAS UNCLASSIFIED

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ARRESTED ON ARRIVAL AT BEN GURION AIRPORT?

A. I HAVE NOTHING FOR YOU ON THAT.

Q. DO OUR INTELLIGENCE AUTHORITIES HAVE A FILE ON ESMail?

A. I DON'T KNOW.

Q. CAN YOU TAKE THE QUESTION?

A. I DON'T BELIEVE I CAN.

Q. ON THE SALES, IS THE WHITE HOUSE AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT PREPARED TO WITHDRAW THE SALES TO ISRAEL IF THE EGYPTIAN AND SAUDI ARABIAN SALES ARE BLOCKED?

A. I DON'T HAVE ANYTHING ON THAT BEYOND WHAT THE SECRETARY

HAS ALREADY SAID, WHICH WAS TO REITERATE THAT WE BELIEVE THAT THESE SALES ARE REINFORCING, THAT WE HAVE SENT THEM UP AS A PACKAGE TO THE HILL; WE HOPE THAT CONGRESS WILL TAKE ACTION WHICH WILL APPROVE THESE VARIOUS PROPOSED SALES, AND WILL WAIT AND SEE WHAT HAPPENS. IN OTHER WORDS I'M NOT GOING TO SPECULATE ABOUT IF ONE PART OF IT IS DISAPPROVED, WHAT WOULD HAPPEN.

Q. SO YOU ARE NOT EXCLUDING THE POSSIBILITY THAT THAT WILL HAPPEN?

A. WE HOPE THAT THEY WILL BE ACCEPTED AS A PACKAGE.

Q. BUT IF THEY ARE NOT, ARE YOU NOT EXCLUDING THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE WHOLE THING WILL BE WITHDRAWN?
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A. I CAN'T SPEAK TO WHAT CONGRESS WILL DO. WHAT WE ARE GOING TO DO IS JUST WAIT AND SEE HOW CONGRESS REACTS.

Q. WHAT IS THE DEFINITION OF A CONFRONTATION STATE, ACCORDING TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT? COULD YOU JUST GIVE US A BRIEF DEFINITION OF WHAT IS A CONFRONTATION STATE, WITH REGARD TO ISRAEL?

A. IT WOULD BE A MAJOR PROTAGONIST IN THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

Q. COULD YOU ELABORATE?

A. I CAN GET A LIST FOR YOU.

Q. DO YOU CONSIDER LEBANON AS A CONFRONTATION STATE?

A. I DON'T BELIEVE SO.

Q. SINCE THE SENIOR OFFICIAL WHOM WE CAN'T IDENTIFY SPOKE ABOUT A PACKAGE, A MEMBER OF CONGRESS, CLARENCE LONG, HAS ASKED FOR DISAPPROVAL OF THE WHOLE PACKAGE. CAN YOU ADDRESS NOW THEIR SEPARABILITY? I KNOW THEY ARE LEGALLY SEPARABLE AND THEY CAN BE DEALT WITH SEPARATELY.

A. I UNDERSTOOD THAT UNDER THE LAW, THEY WOULD BE TAKEN CASE BY CASE.

Q. SOMEBODY IS TRYING TO DO IT A DIFFERENT WAY. DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING NEW TO ADD?

A. NO I DON'T HAVE ANYTHING NEW.

Q. SPEAKER O'NEILL, AS I RECALL, SAYS THAT THE ADMINISTRATION WILL HAVE WHAT HE TERMED A "FORMIDABLE" PROBLEM
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IN GETTING THIS SALE OF F-15'S TO SAUDI ARABIA. DOES THE STATE DEPARTMENT AGREE OR DISAGREE?

A. WELL, I ANTICIPATE A VIGOROUS DEBATE, BUT HERE AGAIN, I'M NOT GOING TO SPECULATE ON THAT.

Q. DOES THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S DEDICATION TO HUMAN RIGHTS APPLY TO OUR SUPPLYING MILITARY SUPPLIES, ARMS, AND SO FORTH, TO COUNTRIES?

A. HUMAN RIGHTS ARE ONE CRITERION THAT ARE USED IN OUR CONSIDERATION OF AN ARMS SALE.

Q. WE ARE GIVING THE BEST FIGHTERS IN THE WORLD, SIXTY OF THEM TO SAUDI ARABIA. THEREFORE, IT FOLLOWS THE STATE DEPARTMENT BELIEVES THAT SAUDI ARABIA HAS AN EXCELLENT HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD, IS THAT CORRECT?

A. AS I SAID, HUMAN RIGHTS ARE ONE CRITERION. ANY SALE OF THIS SORT IS MADE IN THE CONTEXT OF A LOT OF CONSIDERATION INCLUDING OUR OWN NATIONAL SECURITY.

Q. DO WE BELIEVE SAUDI ARABIA HAS A GOOD RECORD ON HUMAN RIGHTS?

A. I DON'T HAVE ANYTHING HERE. I WOULD REFER YOU TO THE REPORT WHICH YOU HAVE SEEN.

Q. IN THE ARMS SALES TO SAUDI ARABIA, DOES THE UNITED STATES HAVE THE POWER, LEGAL POWER, OR IN THE WAY OF AN INDIRECT CONTROL OVER WHERE THE PLANES ARE BASED? CAN YOU KEEP THEM OUT OF TOBUK?

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A. I DON'T KNOW THE ANSWER TO THE QUESTIONS IF THERE IS A SPECIFIC AGREEMENT AS TO WHERE THE PLANES WOULD EVENTUALLY BE BASED.

Q. I WONDER IF YOU CAN TAKE IT. AS WE BOTH KNOW, NEGOTIATIONS ON BACKFIRE, FOR INSTANCE, HAS INVOLVED SOME NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS -- IT MAY NOT ACTUALLY END UP IN WRITING -- WHERE THOSE BOMBERS ARE BASED. THERE HAS BEEN CONCERN EXPRESSED IN ISRAEL ABOUT BASING THEM THERE BECAUSE THAT WOULD BE SOMETHING LIKE TEN SECONDS' FLYING TIME TO EILAT. CAN YOU TAKE THE QUESTION OF

WHETHER THE UNITED STATES WILL CONTROL WHERE THE F-15'S GO EITHER BY WAY OF CONTRACT OR BY WAY OF INFORMAL AGREEMENT WITH THE SAUDIS?

A. YES.

Q. COULD YOU ALSO CHECK WHETHER THERE IS SOME KIND OF GUARANTEE FROM THE SAUDIS, THAT WE HAVE ASKED SPECIFICALLY THAT THESE F-15'S WILL NOT BE USED IN A CONFLICT BETWEEN THE ARABS AND THE ISRAELIS?

A. YOU'RE TALKING ABOUT A FORMAL GUARANTEE?

Q. YES. COULD I ASK ALSO FOR YOU TO CHECK ON THE SALE OF THE F-5E'S TO EGYPT, WHETHER THERE WOULD BE ANY CONDITIONS ATTACHED AS TO WHERE THE PLANES MIGHT BE STATIONED?

A. LET'S PUT THIS IN THE FORM OF ONE QUESTION, IN TERMS OF THE CONDITIONS ATTACHED TO THE SALE OF THE PLANES. OK?

Q. TO EVERYBODY PLEASE, TO ALL THREE.

A. IT MAY BE THAT WE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO GO INTO THE UNCLASSIFIED

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SPECIFICS REGARDING AN AGREEMENT WITH ANOTHER SOVEREIGN COUNTRY, BUT I WILL FIND OUT WHAT WE CAN ABOUT THE AGREEMENTS.

Q. CAN YOU ALSO INCLUDE IN THAT ALSO THE ARMAMENTS THAT WILL GO WITH THOSE PLANES.?

A. I BELIEVE THAT WAS COVERED IN THE BACKGROUNDER.

Q. IT WAS NOT COVERED IN ANY SIGNIFICANT WAY.

A. I CAN LOOK INTO THAT FOR YOU. I DON'T KNOW IF WE POSTED AN ANSWER ON THAT, BUT LET ME CHECK THE RECORD ON THAT FOR YOU.

Q. AND ON THESE SALES, YOU SAID UNDER THE LAW THEY WOULD BE TAKEN CASE BY CASE, SO THAT DOES MEAN THAT THEY CAN BE APPROVED OR DISAPPROVED SEPARATELY?

A. AS I UNDERSTAND IT.

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UNCLAS STATE 042018

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 042018 SENT ACTION AMMAN BEBVRUT ACAIRO
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OUTSTANDING REQUESTS, FORMAL OR INFORMAL, FROM EITHER THE SAUDIS OR THE EGYPTIANS?

A. I HAVE NO INFORMATION ON THAT.

Q. CAN YOU GET THAT?

A. I WILL LOOK INTO THE QUESTION OF OUTSTANDING REQUESTS.

Q. THE AIPAC MEMO TALKS ABOUT THIS NOT BEING CONSISTENT

WITH PRM 12. I RECALL THAT THERE IS A PASSAGE IN PRM 12 THAT BARS THE INTRODUCTION BY THE UNITED STATES OF THE FIRST HIGHLY SOPHISTICATED TECHNOLOGY TO A REGION.

SINCE WE ARE NOT CLEAR ON WHAT THE REGION IS, HOW DO YOU RECONCILE THE F-15'S INTRODUCTION INTO A REGION? PRESUM-

ABLY IT IS MORE ADVANCED THAN ANYTHING IRAQ HAS OR THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN.

A. I BELIEVE THE F-15'S ARE ALREADY THERE. ISRAEL HAS F-15'S ALREADY.

Q. ARE WE SAYING THAT SAUDI ARABIA IS IN THE ISRAEL REGION AND THAT THE ISRAELI ACQUISITION OF F-15'S JUSTIFIES DELIVERY INTO SAUDI ARABIA?

A. SPEAKING IN REGIONAL TERMS, AND SPEAKING IN TERMS OF THE MIDDLE EAST AS A REGION.

Q. DID YOU POINT OUT THAT IRAN HAS F-14'S?

A. THANK YOU.

Q. BUT THE MEMO SAYS YOU'RE NOT WORRIED ABOUT IRAN ANY MORE.

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Q. IT SAYS YOU'RE NOT WORRIED ABOUT ISRAEL EITHER; YOU'RE WORRIED ABOUT IRAQ AND PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN.

A. YOU MEAN AS FAR AS THIS SPECIFIC SALE.

Q. YES. THIS SALE IS TO DEFEND SAUDI ARABIA FROM IRAQ AND PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN.

A. YES. WELL, I'M CONFIDENT THAT THE POSITION IS THAT WE DO NOT CONSIDER THIS HAS VIOLATED THIS POINT, IN THAT PRM.

Q. CAN YOU MAKE THAT MEMO PUBLIC TO ALL OF US? ARE THERE COPIES AROUND?

A. CONGRESSMAN HAMILTON I THINK CAN MAKE THIS AVAILABLE, AND WE CAN ARRANGE TO GET YOU A COPY.

Q. CAN I ASK ONE QUESTION ON THAT? COULD YOU FIND OUT FOR US WHAT REGION SAUDI ARABIA IS IN AND JUST LET US KNOW? ARE THEY IN THE PERSIAN GULF REGION, SO FAR AS AN

ARMS BALANCE, ARE THEY IN THE MIDDLE EAST, ARE THEY SORT OF IN BOTH?

A. I'M SPEAKING OF SAUDI ARABIA AS BEING IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

Q. I KNOW, BUT I THINK YOU ARE PROBABLY MORE SPECIFIC WHEN YOU CALCULATE MILITARY -- PRESUMABLY, A LOT OF VERY

HARD THINKING WENT INTO CALCULATING AN ARMS BALANCE THAT
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YOU SAY HASN'T BEEN TIPPED, A REGIONAL ARMS BALANCE. MY
QUESTION IS, WHAT REGION IS SAUDI ARABIA IN WHEN YOU THINK
OF F-15'S TO SAUDI ARABIA?

Q. WOULD YOU TAKE THAT QUESTION? WHAT I'M TRYING TO GET
AT IS HAVE WE DONE ANYTHING OR ARE WE ABOUT TO DO SOME-
THING IN THE SALE TO SAUDI ARABIA THAT TEMPTS IRAQ TO GO
TO THE SOVIET UNION AND SAY, "WE NEED MORE ADVANCED PLANES
THAT IS, ARE YOU FUELING AN ARMS RACE IN THAT CONFRON-
TATION? HAS THAT BEEN TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT?

A. OUR POSITION IS THAT WE ARE NOT UPSETTING THE BALANCE.
AS TO WHAT IRAQ MAY DO, I CAN'T REPLY.

Q. WHAT BALANCE AREN'T YOU UPSETTING?

A. WE'RE TALKING ABOUT THE OVERALL ARMS BALANCE IN THE
MIDDLE EAST WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO THE ARAB-ISRAELI
CONFLICT.

Q. OK BECAUSE YOUR TWO SENIOR OFFICIALS WHO WERE THERE
A COUPLE OF DAYS AGO WERE TALKING ABOUT IRAQ, THE BALANCE
WITH IRAQ, T.

A. I DON'T KNOW THAT THEY WERE TALKING ABOUT THE BALANCE
WITH IRAQ. THEY WERE TALKING ABOUT THE DEFENSE NEEDS OF
SAUDI ARABIA, AND INDEED THAT THESE WERE BEING SOLD TO
SAUDI ARABIA AS A DEFENSIVE WEAPON.

Q. DON'T YOU SEE THE CONTRADICTION HERE? WHEN YOU LOOK
AT IT IN TERMS OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT, IRAQ AND
SAUDI ARABIA ARE ON THE SAME SIDE; WHEN YOU LOOK AT IT
IN TERMS OF THE IRAQI-SAUDI DISPUTE, THEY ARE NOT ON THE
SAME SIDE, SO WHICH WAY DO YOU COUNT IT?

A. THE RESPONSE HAVING TO DO WITH THE DEFENSE OF SAUDI
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ARABIA WAS IN THE CONTEXT OF WHAT THREAT SAUDI ARABIA
MIGHT FEEL OR WHAT EVENTUALITIES SAUDI ARABIA MIGHT HAVE
TO DEFEND ITSELF AGAINST.

Q. IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT SAUDI ARABIA SENT TROOPS
DURING THE YOM KIPPUR WAR, IS IT COUNTED AMONG THE CON-
FRONTATION STATES OR NOT?

A. IT IS NOT CONSIDERED TO BE ONE OF THE CONFRONTATION STATES.

Q. WHAT ABOUT THE PAST? WHAT ABOUT THE FACT THAT SAUDI ARABIA DID SEND TROOPS DURING THE OCTOBER WAR?

A. I'M NOT AWARE THEY PLAYED A MAJOR ROLE IN THAT CONFLICT.

Q. HOW DO YOU, THEN, CONSIDER THE IRAQI THREAT TO SAUDI ARABIA? EVERYTHING IS BASED ON THE IRAQI THREAT, HOW IMMINENT, HOW SERIOUS IT IS.

A. I'M NOT EVEN SAYING THE IRAQIS ARE THREATENING SAUDI ARABIA, AND I REALLY CAN'T GO BEYOND WHAT HAS ALREADY BEEN SAID IN THE BACKGROUNDER WHICH I BELIEVE YOU ATTENDED

Q. I UNDERSTAND THAT SAMMY ESMail, THAT'S THE MICHIGAN STATE GRADUATE STUDENT WHO IS NOW HELD IN ISRAEL ON CHARGES OF ESPIONAGE, TRAVELED TO LIBYA IN THE SUMMER OF 1976 FOR TERRORIST TRAINING IN SMALL ARMS AND EXPLOSIVES AND WAS INTERROGATED BY US AUTHORITIES WHEN HE RETURNED TO THE US BEFORE HE WENT TO ISRAEL. DID THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION, IN ITS OPPOSITION TO TERRORISM, WARN THE IS-UNCLASSIFIED

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RAELIS THAT A TERRORIST WAS ON THE WAY SO THAT HE WAS ARRESTED ON ARRIVAL AT BEN GURION AIRPORT?

A. I HAVE NOTHING FOR YOU ON THAT.

Q. DO OUR INTELLIGENCE AUTHORITIES HAVE A FILE ON ESMail?

A. I DON'T KNOW.

Q. CAN YOU TAKE THE QUESTION?

A. I DON'T BELIEVE I CAN.

Q. ON THE SALES, IS THE WHITE HOUSE AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT PREPARED TO WITHDRAW THE SALES TO ISRAEL IF THE EGYPTIAN AND SAUDI ARABIAN SALES ARE BLOCKED?

A. I DON'T HAVE ANYTHING ON THAT BEYOND WHAT THE SECRETARY

HAS ALREADY SAID, WHICH WAS TO REITERATE THAT WE BELIEVE THAT THESE SALES ARE REINFORCING, THAT WE HAVE SENT THEM UP AS A PACKAGE TO THE HILL; WE HOPE THAT CONGRESS WILL TAKE ACTION WHICH WILL APPROVE THESE VARIOUS PROPOSED SALES, AND WILL WAIT AND SEE WHAT HAPPENS. IN OTHER WORDS I'M NOT GOING TO SPECULATE ABOUT IF ONE PART OF IT IS DISAPPROVED, WHAT WOULD HAPPEN.

Q. SO YOU ARE NOT EXCLUDING THE POSSIBILITY THAT THAT WILL HAPPEN?

A. WE HOPE THAT THEY WILL BE ACCEPTED AS A PACKAGE.

Q. BUT IF THEY ARE NOT, ARE YOU NOT EXCLUDING THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE WHOLE THING WILL BE WITHDRAWN?

A. I CAN'T SPEAK TO WHAT CONGRESS WILL DO. WHAT WE ARE UNCLASSIFIED

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GOING TO DO IS JUST WAIT AND SEE HOW CONGRESS REACTS.

Q. WHAT IS THE DEFINITION OF A CONFRONTATION STATE, ACCORDING TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT? COULD YOU JUST GIVE US A BRIEF DEFINITION OF WHAT IS A CONFRONTATION STATE, WITH REGARD TO ISRAEL?

A. IT WOULD BE A MAJOR PROTAGONIST IN THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

Q. COULD YOU ELABORATE?

A. I CAN GET A LIST FOR YOU.

Q. DO YOU CONSIDER LEBANON AS A CONFRONTATION STATE?

A. I DON'T BELIEVE SO.

Q. SINCE THE SENIOR OFFICIAL WHOM WE CAN'T IDENTIFY SPOKE ABOUT A PACKAGE, A MEMBER OF CONGRESS, CLARENCE LONG, HAS ASKED FOR DISAPPROVAL OF THE WHOLE PACKAGE. CAN YOU ADDRESS NOW THEIR SEPARABILITY? I KNOW THEY ARE LEGALLY SEPARABLE AND THEY CAN BE DEALT WITH SEPARATELY.

A. I UNDERSTOOD THAT UNDER THE LAW, THEY WOULD BE TAKEN CASE BY CASE.

Q. SOMEBODY IS TRYING TO DO IT A DIFFERENT WAY. DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING NEW TO ADD?

A. NO I DON'T HAVE ANYTHING NEW.

Q. SPEAKER O'NEILL, AS I RECALL, SAYS THAT THE ADMINIS- UNCLASSIFIED

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TRATION WILL HAVE WHAT HE TERMED A "FORMIDABLE" PROBLEM IN GETTING THIS SALE OF F-15'S TO SAUDI ARABIA. DOES THE STATE DEPARTMENT AGREE OR DISAGREE?

A. WELL, I ANTICIPATE A VIGOROUS DEBATE, BUT HERE AGAIN, I'M NOT GOING TO SPECULATE ON THAT.

Q. DOES THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S DEDICATION TO HUMAN RIGHTS APPLY TO OUR SUPPLYING MILITARY SUPPLIES, ARMS, AND SO FORTH, TO COUNTRIES?

A. HUMAN RIGHTS ARE ONE CRITERION THAT ARE USED IN OUR CONSIDERATION OF AN ARMS SALE.

Q. WE ARE GIVING THE BEST FIGHTERS IN THE WORLD, SIXTY OF THEM TO SAUDI ARABIA. THEREFORE, IT FOLLOWS THE STATE DEPARTMENT BELIEVES THAT SAUDI ARABIA HAS AN EXCELLENT HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD, IS THAT CORRECT?

A. AS I SAID, HUMAN RIGHTS ARE ONE CRITERION. ANY SALE OF THIS SORT IS MADE IN THE CONTEXT OF A LOT OF CONSIDERATION INCLUDING OUR OWN NATIONAL SECURITY.

Q. DO WE BELIEVE SAUDI ARABIA HAS A GOOD RECORD ON HUMAN RIGHTS?

A. I DON'T HAVE ANYTHING HERE. I WOULD REFER YOU TO THE REPORT WHICH YOU HAVE SEEN.

Q. IN THE ARMS SALES TO SAUDI ARABIA, DOES THE UNITED STATES HAVE THE POWER, LEGAL POWER, OR IN THE WAY OF AN INDIRECT CONTROL OVER WHERE THE PLANES ARE BASED? CAN YOU KEEP THEM OUT OF TOBUK?

A. I DON'T KNOW THE ANSWER TO THE QUESTIONS IF THERE IS A SPECIFIC AGREEMENT AS TO WHERE THE PLANES WOULD EVENTUALLY BE BASED.

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ALLY BE BASED.

Q. I WONDER IF YOU CAN TAKE IT. AS WE BOTH KNOW, NEGOTIATIONS ON BACKFIRE, FOR INSTANCE, HAS INVOLVED SOME NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS -- IT MAY NOT ACTUALLY END UP IN WRITING -- WHERE THOSE BOMBERS ARE BASED. THERE HAS BEEN CONCERN EXPRESSED IN ISRAEL ABOUT BASING THEM THERE BECAUSE THAT WOULD BE SOMETHING LIKE TEN SECONDS' FLYING TIME TO EILAT. CAN YOU TAKE THE QUESTION OF

WHETHER THE UNITED STATES WILL CONTROL WHERE THE F-15'S GO EITHER BY WAY OF CONTRACT OR BY WAY OF INFORMAL AGREEMENT WITH THE SAUDIS?

A. YES.

Q. COULD YOU ALSO CHECK WHETHER THERE IS SOME KIND OF

GUARANTEE FROM THE SAUDIS, THAT WE HAVE ASKED SPECIFICALLY THAT THESE F-15'S WILL NOT BE USED IN A CONFLICT BETWEEN THE ARABS AND THE ISRAELIS?

A. YOU'RE TALKING ABOUT A FORMAL GUARANTEE?

Q. YES. COULD I ASK ALSO FOR YOU TO CHECK ON THE SALE OF THE F-5E'S TO EGYPT, WHETHER THERE WOULD BE ANY CONDITIONS ATTACHED AS TO WHERE THE PLANES MIGHT BE STATIONED?

A. LET'S PUT THIS IN THE FORM OF ONE QUESTION, IN TERMS OF THE CONDITIONS ATTACHED TO THE SALE OF THE PLANES. OK?

Q. TO EVERYBODY PLEASE, TO ALL THREE.

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A. IT MAY BE THAT WE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO GO INTO THE SPECIFICS REGARDING AN AGREEMENT WITH ANOTHER SOVEREIGN COUNTRY, BUT I WILL FIND OUT WHAT WE CAN ABOUT THE AGREEMENTS.

Q. CAN YOU ALSO INCLUDE IN THAT ALSO THE ARMAMENTS THAT WILL GO WITH THOSE PLANES.?

A. I BELIEVE THAT WAS COVERED IN THE BACKGROUNDER.

Q. IT WAS NOT COVERED IN ANY SIGNIFICANT WAY.

A. I CAN LOOK INTO THAT FOR YOU. I DON'T KNOW IF WE POSTED AN ANSWER ON THAT, BUT LET ME CHECK THE RECORD ON THAT FOR YOU.

Q. AND ON THESE SALES, YOU SAID UNDER THE LAW THEY WOULD BE TAKEN CASE BY CASE, SO THAT DOES MEAN THAT THEY CAN BE APPROVED OR DISAPPROVED SEPARATELY?

A. AS I UNDERSTAND IT.

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